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AUTHOR Rivers, Janelle L.
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ABSTRACT

Using a segment of one program from a series of videotaped staff development programs as a data base, this paper investigates the nature of the relationship involved in peer coaching. The segment is a model interview between two teachers who are engaged in a peer coaching program. The series, Coaching for Improved Teaching, promotes the idea that teachers can be partners in the coaching process, which includes observing each other, taking notes on observed lessons, and providing feedback through peer conferences. Two methodologies are employed in the paper: a conversation analysis of the interview focused on the qualitative aspects of the discourse at the detail level, and a quantitative examination using the sequential analysis techniques developed by B. C. Wampold (1984) in conjunction with the coding system developed by R. Penman (1980). This analysis examines structural and pragmatic patterns of behavior and control characteristics in the conversational dyad. The conversation analysis is based on three types of evidence: recipient design, observer overlap, and absence of commonality in the discourse. Results indicate a relatively equal but competitive relationship, with the observer attempting to gain control of the interview while the teacher attempts to maintain independence. It appears that coaches need to develop a subtle repertoire of conferencing styles. Training for coaching should address affective as well as cognitive aspects. Eight tables and five figures are included. (TJH)

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Is This Peer Coaching?
Conversation Analysis of a Teacher Conference

Janelle L. Rivers
Educational Research Program
Department of Educational Psychology
University of South Carolina
Columbia, South Carolina

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American Educational Research Association
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Is This Peer Coaching?
Conversation Analysis of a Teacher Conference

The data base for this project is a segment of one program from a series of videotaped staff development programs (Forte & Griffith, 1986). This segment is a model interview between two teachers who are engaged in a peer coaching program. The series, Coaching for Improved Teaching, promotes the idea that teachers can be partners in the coaching process, which includes observing one another, taking notes on the observed lessons, and providing feedback through peer conferences.

The conference considered here is the central example in the series of training films. The concepts of "peer" and "partner" used in the series imply a relatively equal, collegial relationship. The thesis of this paper is that applying the methodology of conversation analysis to the data base exposes a relationship that is authoritarian rather than collegial. The nature of this relationship may not be obvious to the casual observer, especially if the observer is focused on the cognitive content of the conference. This paper is not an evaluation of the series. The developers made a pioneering effort in an area where research has clearly demonstrated the need for more knowledge about how coaches can be trained effectively (Mandeville and Rivers, in press, 1988).

The conference is an example in the series, and the series emphasizes that conferences are not expected to be perfect. The series includes a sample lesson, a planning session, the peer conference, and a supervisory conference. In the supervisory conference, a supervisor confers with the observer to process the decisions she made in and for the peer conference. That supervisory interview portrays a different style of coaching than that shown in the peer interview.

This paper employs two methodologies which are have not been used in tandem. The first section is a conversation analysis of the interview. Conversation analysis focuses on qualitative aspects of the discourse at the detail level. Its underlying

assumptions are that conversational behavior is meaningfully organized and that conversation is reciprocally constructed moment to moment. Conversation analysis focuses on the manner in which the details of interaction are managed.

The second section of this paper is a quantitative examination which uses the sequential analysis techniques developed by Wampold (1984; Wampold & Margolin, 1982) in conjunction with the Penman (1980) coding system. This analysis examines patterns of behavior and control characteristics in the conversational dyad. The qualitative analysis is supported by the quantitative analysis of the interview.

CONVERSATION ANALYSIS OF THE CONFERENCE

The conversation analysis is based on three types of evidence: (1) recipient design, (2) overlap, and (3) absence of commonality in the discourse. In the transcripts, the abbreviation "O:" will identify the observer's speech, while "T:" will indicate the teacher's speech. Brackets [] indicate overlapped speech. An equal sign = denotes an utterance which begins immediately after the previous utterance. Parentheses () indicate inaudible speech. Periods "." indicate pauses.

Recipient Design

The conference begins with a ritualized series of question-answer adjacency pairs, but the observer moves quickly to take control of the conversation. The observing teacher uses a combination of techniques to control the interview. Consider the following excerpt from the beginning of the conference:

1 O: Can we get started?

2 T: Okay. That's fine. I'll get these out of your way. You don't want any papers to take home to grade, do you?

3 O: Not today, thanks.

4 T: You'll pass, right?

5 O: Yeah. I will pass Um. What I wanted to spend some time talking about today, Barbara, um are a couple of things that we've mentioned before and then . some new things as a result of the observation I did . with you yesterday. um ((Rapidly)) As your partner in this process one of the things I need to tell you is that I am . continually amazed at enthusiasm that you project . for kids . in the classroom= It's just a wonderful thing to see = You are so excited about your content, and it is very well communicated to them Um that's the surest way I know to get them excited about it as well, and it really does affect the relationship you have with them, the rapport .( ) the feeling tone of the

6 T: [Oh, I think so.]

7 O: classroom! Um ((Rapidly)) One of the things that we KNOW, not only in research but from our experience as teachers, has a lot to do with . our own experiences of working with literature such as Macbeth which is what you were ( ) to pick on yesterday hh um and when I think back to my own experiences with Macbeth which were . extremely stoic in nature compared to what you did, it is truly a . pleasurable experience for me to have the opportunity to sit in your classroom and watch you approach the content with kids the way you did yesterday. One of the things that I think stems from . your conscientiousness . about the content and about wanting to make it something that's interesting for them has to do with . the subject of establishing meaning . in the learning . and that is what

8 T: [uh huh

9 O: I want us to spend some time discussing today, not only about the importance of meaning in the learning but the elements that we put together to make it work . for us if you will in planning a lesson. Uh WHY is it important to you to spend the amount of time . that you do establishing meaning in the learning for kids?

The beginning exchange shows an initial search for alignment between the two participants. At utterance 2 the teacher agrees to begin and extends the turn by offering to move papers and suggesting that the observer would not want to grade them. This could be read as a reference to their mutual status as teachers and an attempt to establish a commonality. The teacher marks the end of the turn with a negatively phrased statement and a tag question. At 3, the observer agrees with a brief negative response, "Not today, thanks." The orientation of the observer to the teacher here is marked by a facetiousness which can be heard as alignment to the facetiousness of the teacher; an alternative interpretation of this statement is that it may contain a slight note of discomfiture since the context created by the preceding statement suggests little

likelihood that the observer would ever accept such an offer. In declining, the observer chose not to echo some part of the teacher's statement, thus missing an opportunity to establish a common orientation through partial repetition or through echoing some of the sounds of the previous turn. The teacher could be seen at utterance 4 to be attempting to simultaneously establish commonality and her right to help determine the course of the interview by the restatement, "You'll pass, right?" which again seeks agreement from the observer. Here the observer gives the preferred response at statement 5 with, "Yeah. I will pass," The word "will" is emphasized through intonation, and the statement might be characterized as a definite assertion.

Here the observer continues her turn, holding the floor with "um" and launches a multiutterance unit. She announces her intention to perform a multiunit turn with the phrase, "What I wanted to spend some talking about today, Barbara, um are..." One technique for assuming control of the interview is calling the teacher by her first name. This occurs between the clauses of the first sentence in the unit. The observer uses the syllable "um" to hold the floor. At this point the observer produces an utterance which is typical of much of the interview in its length and complexity. In offering support to the teacher, the observer's speech is animated and rapid, and the sentence constructions are compound or complex. She pauses for breath only after announcing her intention to continue with the phrase "and then . " One of the most notable features of the observer's speech throughout the interview is the relative absence of restarts and repairs. A repeated pattern of floor-holding appears in the data through the use of "um" and through placement of pauses for breath. Breath pauses frequently occur after an indication of intention to continue as can be seen after "and then . ," after a verb as in "am . continually," or in mid-phrase as in "that you project . for kids..." Next utterances are frequently latched to the previous statement.

The teacher eventually overlaps during such a pause with "Oh, I think so," at 6. Nevertheless, the observer maintains the floor by attaching "um" to the end of the

overlapped sentence at 7. The teacher inserts "uh huh" at 8. This response can be argued to be both an indication of agreement and a minimal encourager (Ivey, 1983). An alternative reading would be an indication of a desire to have the next turn.

At this point the observer evidences further intention to dominate the interview and establish an authoritarian orientation by invoking "research" and "experience" and assuming to speak for the other party by employing the pronoun "we." She employs a subset of the what has been termed the teacher register (Cazden, 1987) in selection of the phrase "meaning . in the learning." This is a piece of current educational jargon which might be understood by teachers as an attempt to invoke one of the recent staff-development models based on the work of Madeline Hunter as the frame of reference. In repeatedly using this phrase, the observer has clearly established a footing which refers to that domain of discourse.

Interestingly, Cazden (1987) notes that preoccupation with matters of control is probably the most obvious feature of the teacher register. This control refers to student behavior and to control of classroom discourse itself. Sinclair and Brazil (1982) identified four aspects of the teacher register: telling, controlling, stimulating, and rewarding. Here the observer, who is a teacher herself, is exhibiting a variety of techniques for initially gaining control of the interview.

It is important to note that the observer tells her fellow-teacher about research with which the teacher is already presumed to be acquainted. This can be understood as an intentional exception to the conversational rule, "don't tell what the others know," noted by Sacks (1971, p. 14). Here the observer seems to be using the word "research" to establish her social identity as an authority who is qualified to make assessments about the teacher's behavior, but no specific research findings are discussed in the utterance.

The rapidity and fluency of the observer's speech have, at this point, relegated the teacher to minimal responses. One-word responses which depend on prior

utterances for meaning are termed "elliptical structures" (Sinclair & Coulthard, 1975) and have been found to indicate acceptance of domination by another. The teacher's response, "Oh, I think so," at 6 is minimal, but offers more resistance than the one-word elliptical structure. This may be understood as an indication on the part of the teacher that she will maintain independence.

When the observer does relinquish the floor, she does so by asking the teacher a question which begins with the word, "Why." As the initial question to the teacher, this has important implications for the overall tone of the interview. Essentially the question requires the teacher to justify her behavior and embeds two additional ideas: (1) the notion that this behavior is important to this teacher and (2) the observation that a considerable amount of lesson time has been devoted to this activity. Interviewers in training are frequently cautioned against asking "why" questions because such questions have a tendency to put the respondent in a defensive position (Ivey, 1977).

In contrast to the fluent, rapid sentences of the observer, word searches and self-repairs by the teacher occur frequently throughout the interview. One way in which she maintains independence is by controlling the pacing and vocabulary of her speech. An examination of the teacher's next utterance confirms that she intends to state her position:

9 O: ... Uh WHY is it important to you to spend the amount of time . that you do establishing meaning in the learning for kids?

10 T: If this is the anticipatory set, or the setup ticket hh .because you can take a subject such as Macbeth . and you . in addition to your knowledge . have to couple that with some entertainment . in order to bring those students from the outside world . which is an entertaining world . and they're constantly fed tv . and they're constantly FED entertainment. In order to get them participating . you have to . make it . real . you have . to get them involved. So you've GOT to create some interest there. If you don't, you can talk for 50 minutes . and you'll-that's exactly what you'll be doing as a teacher= You'll talk for 50 minutes.

11 O: Right.

12 T: You can ask questions for 50 minutes . and they'll sit there. , you know, and not give you that much VERBAL feedback

13 O: =Right

14 T: and yet you want them to take- you want them to take the guide question and see what they're thinking. I know what I think

15 O: Um hmm right

16 T: and I've read the critiquing on Macbeth . not all of it, but much of it . and so I want to see what they think . and how they . uh interpret Macbeth. Another thing too . is I think I told the students yesterday, and I don't-you know, you probably picked up on this as well. that if we leave the literature in the book . the black . on white . and we close that book and now let's go on . we've defeated the whole purpose of teaching Macbeth. Yes, we've taught a little history . and yes, they are aware . but if we don't bring that to life . and see Lady Macbeth . through ourselves . and see Macbeth . through ourselves .

17 O: =Um hum

18 T: then we- then it's literature . and it's not LIFE.

While the observer's pacing is rapid, the teacher's speech is slow and deliberate, filled with pauses and hesitations. Here the teacher's speech is riddled with self- initiated repairs as she offers her rationale. The use of the term "anticipatory set" indicates that the teacher is indeed familiar with the current educational jargon, but her apposition of the term "set-up ticket" reduces the formality of the interview and proposes a more relaxed mode of conversation. According to Sinclair and Coulthard (1975), such usage of synonyms indicates local divergence. This again suggests the intention of the teacher to maintain her independence.

The observer's responses to the teacher are evaluative. She selects a response from the teacher register, "=Right," which is repeated her next turn. While this response can be read as agreement, it is important to note that it subtly assumes the authority to evaluate the teacher's statement in a manner reminiscent of a classroom teacher responding to pupils. Taken together, the observer's rapid speech, complex sentence constructions, floor-holding behavior, low incidence of self-repair, and the invoking of research and common experience as authority (evidenced in utterances 5-9)

can be seen to comprise a recipient design which aims to control the interview and establish for the observer the social identity of expert.

The teacher has designed her talk with an orientation toward maintaining her independence through difference in pacing, use of synonyms, and floor-holding behavior of her own, as shown in utterances 10-18.

Overlap

As the conference progresses the observer overlaps the teacher's explanation of her purpose and strategy in the use of examples. This can be found in the following passage:

19 T: But as far as the . eh if you mean the personal interest . and throw that in. If I see that students . have LEFT me= even one or two . and they're not- they're physically there . and I have their bodies but I don't have their mind in tune

20 O: [Right

21 T: Uh I I purposely will think of something to s- to get them back

22 O: [Grab them back in

23 T: Nothing does that any better than a little personal experience. or a drop of the to-=and when you talk about personally . something happens to the tone of your voice

24 O: um hum

25 T: and you say, "Ah .hh I remember "

26 O: =Right .[and sometimes just the spontaneity

27 T: [So your ta-

28 O: of that that creates the interest

29 T: [definitely um hm

30 O: like you really just thought of something that relates. =One of the things that I think is interesting as I've WATCHED you do that that comes to mind as from what I know about the research . on meaning in the learning=and this is just an idea . for you to consider . at this point. There is a danger . in the use of examples particularly when you are a person . as you are and I fall into this category as well . that finds the

30 O: (cont.)NEED to use those things. to make the learning personal . for students. The trap that we often fall into is . including SO MANY personal experiences . and having the children because of their RELATIONSHIP with us get so interested in those experiences .hh that it COULD possibly DISTRACT . from the LEARNING . that we want to focus in on.

The observer overlaps at 20 and 22, and inserts statement 26. This latching of statement 26 transforms the context so that the teacher is overlapped by the observer's talk at 27 and does not finish her statement. The teacher finally relinquishes the floor at 30 where the observer continues an extended turn, increasing her volume on key words such as "COULD" and "DISTRACT" for emphasis. Here the observer invokes the word research to support criticism of the behavior which she initially asked the teacher to justify.

Absence of Commonality

An interesting feature of this interview is the relative absence of commonality. The styles of speech differ in pacing and in cognitive/affective orientation. This can be readily illustrated in the differences in the similes and metaphors used by the observer and the teacher.

The observer uses primarily visual and kinesthetic images. For example, in turn 5 she says, "It's just a wonderful thing to see!" and in turn 30 she comments, "... as I've watched you..." The observer includes some kinesthetic imagery in statement 30 where she speaks of "the trap we often fall into." The observer is speaking primarily in cognitive analytical terms.

By contrast, the teacher uses a wider variety of sensory images and emphasizes the effective components of the lesson. In turn 10 she talks about the students being "fed tv." Turn 16 contains visual images such as "black on white" and "see Macbeth through ourselves." In turn 19 she uses kinesthetic and auditory imagery in talking about students who have "left" the lesson and don't have their "minds in tune." Turn

23 speaks of the importance of the tone of voice. While the observer has commended the teacher's ability to generate enthusiasm, she demonstrates a subtle oppositional alignment through this failure to match common vocabulary and sensory modes. An important example of this failure to enter into a common frame of reference is found in the following segment of the interview where the teacher offers a simile for her use of examples:

31 T: =Right and then it's the- it's like the SPICE in the spaghetti sauce . If you use too much . . it's not that tasty.

32 O: True [You could have done without talking about pasta but true

33 T: [IF YOU USE IT TOO MU- right ye- [hhh hhh hhh

34 O: um and so that's just something that I think you know we ought to keep in the back of our minds. Now with this particular lesson . as you were using the examples, can you think back now to that particular point in time of your teaching . ...(turn continues)

Here the observer openly rejects the simile at 31 which compares the use of personal examples to spice. In her haste to move on to her next topic, the observer declines an opportunity to improve rapport. Instead, she offers a subtle correction by indicating that the teacher's topic is inappropriate. The teacher makes an effort to reframe the interchange as humorous by offering laugh tokens at 33. Once again, the observer chooses not to align with the speaker, but instead overlaps her speech and proposes that the teacher remember the point that has just been made, assuming to speak for both of them through use of the pronoun "we."

The degeneration of rapport is clearly evidenced in a later segment of the lesson. Here, in order to perform a multiunit turn, the teacher explicitly requests the floor. She changes the footing, proposing the following topic which makes her discomfort evident:

35 T: Let me tell you something. KNOWING you were back- in the back of my room observing me .hh I felt- I'm not saying I don't do this other- other classes and there are times when I DON'T ask the students when I should .hh I felt the tendency to think I had to perform just a little bit . for you.

36 O: [Sh..And I think that's a natural reaction

37 T: [And that's not a defen- Is that a defense? . That's a defense. .hhh No it's not.

38 O: =It's a- It's a USEFUL de(hh)fense

39 T: [It's an explanation Okay . YES

40 O: I-I don't think that that's an unusual thing= I think uh it's not going to ever be . completely comfortable to have somebody come into your room to observe= even if they ARE your peer.

41 T: Remember I- I told you a couple years ago that my goal . was . at the beginning of the year or at the end of the year for the- the next year was to . be more of the guide on the side

42 O: Um hum

43 T: and I ha- Course I'm a verbal individual . and I and

44 O: [right

45 T: I get excited and to ((softly)) hush . just hush . and let my students . .hh Now I'm improving but BOY . I've got a long way to go.

46 O: I know. I know. The last thing that we would discuss . under meaning in the learning . has to do with a topic that I find very interesting . and THAT is . the fourth element being . objective being at the correct level of difficulty . for students. Now . that's a rather tenuous area . to explore. becuz there are SO MANY VARIABLES that we can consider . when we're doing diagnosis and planning lessons and setting up objectives. Um . and I'd like to really FOCUS on that for just a second . MORE SPECIFICALLY than just setting the objective at the correct level of difficulty. As part of your objective . one of the things you wanted to do the- with them . yesterday was to have them . identify through brainstorming . the internal and external forces that led to the downfall of Macbeth.

As the teacher discloses her discomfort with the process of observation, the observer overlaps. The teacher counters by overlapping the observer in 37. She questions aloud whether her reaction is defensive and concludes that it is not. Immediately, the observer opposes the teacher's position and concludes that the reaction is both defensive and natural. Here the observer proposes a laugh token. The

teacher's pitch is lowered as she declines the proposal that her supposed defensiveness is laughable and states, "It's an explanation. Okay. YES." In statement 41 the teacher indicates that she has set goals for herself and evaluates her own performance as inadequate. Through repetition of the reference to guiding, the teacher appears to invoke another footing by referring to a different domain of discourse. A plausible hypothesis is that this is a reference to another approach to the teaching of literature. This section concludes with the teacher's observation, "...Now I'm improving but BOY . I've got a long way to go." Since the teacher has just made a self-deprecating assessment, the preferred response for the observer is disagreement, which could be expected to be accompanied by a remark which would indicate support from the observer (Pomerantz, 1977). The observer issues the dispreferred response, "I know, I know," and immediately proposes a topic shift which begins another multiunit turn.

At the conclusion of the conference the teacher offers her evaluation of the coaching session.

47 T: As intimidating . if that's the correct word . may be a little harsh . as these types of conferences might be . when you're gone and I look at this . and I know some things that I can take to improve . hhh because it you're not making-I'm making a star out of my students

48 O: um hum

49 T: If I am good . they'll shine

50 O: [That's true

51 O: That's a good attitude

52 T: =and I don't c-sometimes even though I go ah . you know I really blew that or . yes . oh I know this was so bad . if you could improve that then that makes them succe- . succeed . if they succeed (.) I look good.

53 O: [That's what it's all about

54 T: =I look good

55 O: right

56 T: um hum

In this segment the teacher has brought the rapport problem to the surface of the conversation. There is evidence in statements in the conference that these two teachers have had a long-standing professional relationship which tolerates the behaviors exhibited in this conference. Still the rapport problem was important enough for the teacher to mention it. The teacher then provides a solution herself by removing the focus from her performance to a consideration of how the things she has learned can be used to help her students. The observer commends her attitude, and the two negotiate a conclusion to the conference through a series of ritualized adjacency pairs.

Conclusions of the Qualitative Analysis

While there is much more evidence that could be explored in these data, the examples offered here show that the combination of recipient design, overlap, and absence of commonality in the language have, at a minimum, contributed to a somewhat lowered rapport between teacher and observer. The teacher has given much emphasis in the interview to her belief in the importance the effective components of the lesson, while the observer is continuing to focus on the cognitive components of the conference. It is interesting to note that the observer is agreeing that the teacher could improve if she would "just hush." The observer acknowledges that students would do better if given a guide question and allowed to develop their own ideas. Yet, at the same time, the observer is continuing to dominate the conference with her stream of speech and thereby depriving the teacher of the opportunity to use this coaching session to develop her ideas.

One feature which becomes apparent in this interview is the importance of considering carefully the footing that is chosen when the word "research" comes into the conversation. This word often carries with it the association of a truth claim. Consequently, it can be used to add weight to a statement. It can also function to help

construct the social identity of someone who is entitled to speak with authority. When making generalizations, researchers usually add qualifiers, discuss probabilities, consider other plausible explanations, and allow for exceptions. Although it can be argued that the observer exhibited some of these behaviors in the interview, the issue of the speaker's intent making this word choice remains open to debate.

In fairness to the supervisor, coach, and teacher, it is important to note that filming this was an extremely difficult task. The presence of the camera undoubtedly influenced behavior. In her post-conference interview, the observer identified things she would have done differently. The beauty of an exchange near the end of the teacher- observer interview illustrates this point.

57 O: We can't be afraid to try because we can fix it if i- if you try it and it doesn't work you know what you know it right

58 T: [right Tomorrow is there [Tomorrow is there I can redeem ( )

59 O: [and I would guard against cause I have fallen into that trap myself . guard against wanting to pad everything to make it very comfortable and then losing the element of risk or of the challenge of it

60 T: [right right

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS

The data were subjected to a discourse analysis employing the Penman (1980) coding system. This analysis focussed on the structural and pragmatic features of the discourse. The Penman heuristic for content analysis was developed to analyze discourse along the two dimensions of power and involvement. There are separate category systems for the manifest and latent levels of conversation, with nine categories for the manifest level and sixteen categories in the latent level. The classification scheme also permits comparison of similarities or differences in power and involvement

from manifest to latent levels, with nine possible combinations. (See Figures 1, 2, & 3.) Similarity from manifest to latent level is indicated by "==" indicating equal power and equal involvement. Discrepancies are indicated with "+" for increase and "-" for decrease in the left place for a shift in power and in the right place for a shift in involvement. Thus, "-+" indicates less power and more positive involvement at the latent level, when compared to the manifest level. A recent study (Holloway, et al., 1987) which used this method made an important distinction between expressed power and achieved power. These authors used the terms "expressed power" to refer to messages that are high on the power dimension in the Penman classification scheme and "achieved power" to refer to statistical dominance, or the actual predictive effect of messages on subsequent verbal behaviors. Method

For this analysis a transcript of the interview was prepared and segmented into minimum structural units (which will be referred to as MSU's) based on changes in information or meaning, intonation, and/or syntax as described by Penman (1980). MSU's range in length from a single, interpretable sound, such as, "Oh," to an entire utterance. An utterance could consist of several MSU's; therefore, it is possible to have both different and repeated category codes within a speaker's single utterance. Categories are assigned on the basis of what the intent of the sender could have been in making that utterance.

An unusual characteristic of this interview is the lengthy nature of some of the utterances. In accordance with Penman's recommendation, consideration was given to creating as few MSU's as possible within lengthy utterances. Using the transcript and the videotape, the author initially assigned MSU's to manifest level categories. Because all the data were coded by the author, no comparisons based on interrater reliabilities were made. For accuracy, the tape was reviewed and category assignments were compared to Penman's definitions throughout the coding process. After the manifest level coding was completed, a second transcript was used to assign latent level

categories. Then the information from these two codings was combined and differences in power and involvement between the manifest and latent levels were recorded.

Transition matrices and descriptive statistics were generated by computer. Output from these analyses was used to test control characteristics in the relationship. Unidirectional dependence tests examine whether an antecedent behavior increases or decreases the probability of a subsequent behavior (Wampold & Margolin, 1982). The test of dominance in sequential analysis (Wampold, 1984) ascertains whether one speaker's behavior is more predictable from the other speaker's behavior than conversely. This technique permits the identification of the dominant partner in a dyad and adjusts for the dependence between the two unidirectional tests. Comparisons were made to test the null hypotheses of symmetric behavior (no significant difference in predictability of teacher's behavior from observer's and vice versa) on the same categories. The Bonferroni Inequality was used to guard against an inflated Type I error.

Results

Descriptive statistics

The proportions were calculated by dividing the frequencies of message units for a speaker in each category by the total number of message units for that speaker in the interview. Category names are generally descriptive, but some minimum structural units coded within a category will not be consistent with ordinary usage of the category name (Penman, 1980).

As can be seen from Table 1, the observer's statements at the manifest level was highest in the concede (low power, positive involvement), advise (high power, neutral involvement), exchange (neutral power, neutral involvement), and aggress (high power, negative involvement) categories. The largest proportion of the teacher's

messages were coded exchange (neutral power, neutral involvement), concede (low power, positive involvement), advise (high power, neutral involvement), and aggress (high power, negative involvement). No messages were coded avoid for either speaker. When involvement was negative, both chose high power (aggress) rather than low power (avoid).

Insert Table 1 about here

At the latent level the largest proportions of the observer's messages were categorized as oblige, control, and initiate; while the largest proportion for the teacher were in the oblige category, with offer and initiate being the next highest proportions. No messages units were categorized as cling, evade, reject, or remove. Both speakers maintained involvement with high proportions in the oblige category (moderate power, positive involvement). The observer tended to favor the moderate involvement and high power categories of control and initiate. The teacher tended to choose moderate involvement with moderate power (offer) and with high power (initiate).

Insert Table 2 about here

Investigation of the power-involvement dimension revealed that the largest proportion of messages were congruent from manifest to latent level (72% for the observer and 75% for the teacher). That means that the level of power and involvement were alike at the manifest and latent levels for most MSU's in the interview. The largest proportion in a discrepant category for the observer was increased power and equal involvement; it accounted for about 18% of the observer's message units. For the teacher, about 7% of the incongruities were increased power with equal involvement, and 6% were equal power with increased involvement.

Insert Table 3 about here

Sequential analyses

The first hypotheses of interest were that the conversational behavior in the interview was symmetrical versus the alternative that one partner was dominant. (Wampold, 1984; Wampold & Margolin, 1982). Teacher-observer MSU's in the same category were compared for all three matrices.

Only one of the comparisons was statistically significant when the Type I error rate was controlled. That was the comparison which showed that the teacher's subsequent reduction on the power dimension was predictable when the observer reduced power and maintained equal involvement; however, this result was based on cells with frequencies of zero and 1 and cannot be interpreted as typical of the interview. At the latent level, there was some indication that there might be a slight tendency for the observer to approach dominance in both control and share categories, but these results were not significant when Type I error rate was controlled with the Bonferroni Inequality.

Insert Table 4 about here

Insert Table 5 about here

Insert Table 6 about here

Unidirectional analyses assessing the probability of predicting the subsequent behavior from the antecedent message were performed on selected cells which were identified from the transition matrix. In selection of cells, empty cells and cells in which the speaker followed herself were eliminated. Cells tested were selected on the basis of conceptual interest and frequency. Forty-four cells were tested at the manifest level and 49 at the latent level. Type I error rate was controlled with the Bonferroni Inequality.

At the manifest level, the advise-concede, exchange- concede, and agree-support patterns indicate movement toward positive involvement. The teacher and observer match each other on the high power negative involvement aggress category. The teacher has another significant strategy of following the aggress category with a request.

Insert Table 7 about here

Insert Figure 4 about here

The initiate-oblige and oblige-initiate pairs are reciprocal. Significant latent level patterns for the observer are collaborate followed by teacher collaborate and control followed by teacher control. Here the teacher is matching the observer in power and involvement. Significant patterns for the teacher are offer followed by observer oblige, seek followed by a reciprocated observer seek, and submit followed by observer control. Moving from offer to oblige indicates a reduction on the power dimension and increased involvement. The movement from teacher submit to observer control indicated reduced involvement and a change from the lowest level of power to

the highest. These patterns suggest a balance of power and involvement in the data with the observer making an effort to control the interaction and the teacher matching that effort.

Insert Table 8 about here

Insert Figure 5 about here

DISCUSSION

Careful analysis of the data reveals a relatively equal, but competitive relationship. Instead of sharing authority, the participants vie for control of the interview. The intense involvement of both participants is clear from both analyses. The detail of the conversation analysis reveals the observer's strategies for control and the teacher's efforts to maintain independence. Overall, it is apparent that neither partner achieved dominance over the other in the interview, although there is some hint that the balance of expressed power may tip slightly toward the observer. Both analyses lead to the conclusion that the teacher intended to remain an active participant throughout the interview.

The use of research to establish social identity is an issue that deserves consideration. If research is to contribute to instructional supervision and inform the practice of teaching, it is essential that coaches be trained to present findings in a manner which is likely to be helpful to teachers. Research should be used to enhance practice and strengthen teaching skills. Any authoritarian manner of presentation which sacrifices rapport for control is likely to be counterproductive. Such an agenda may foster resentment and resistance among teachers when more appropriate conferencing

and presentation could engender change and growth. The implication for researchers is that we must encourage appropriateness in the presentation of research findings.

Examination of this interview suggests that coaching is probably a much more subtle art than many educators have previously assumed. It may be that coaches need to develop a repertoire of conferencing styles. For example, teachers who are capable of doing much of their own analysis probably need a facilitative style, while teachers who have not developed that analytical ability may need a more structured approach. The choice of style may be dependent in part on the subject area and grade level, as well as the personal philosophies of teacher and observer.

Much of the training for coaching in a number of recent staff development programs has been focused on the manifest content of the conference. It is time for trainers of coaches to consider the latent dynamics as well. Training for coaching should address both the cognitive and effective components if it is to be effective. Coaching is an extremely subtle and complex process. It offers a unique opportunity for improving instruction. The developers of this series are correct in emphasizing the importance of continued supervision for coaches. Educators cannot afford to underestimate the sophistication of the strategies involved in training for conferencing.

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APPENDIX

TABLE 1

MANIFEST LEVEL PROPORTIONS

MANIFEST	SPEAKER	
	OBSERVER	TEACHER
ADVISE	.233	.168
AGREE	.059	.058
AGGRESS	.124	.120
AVOID	.000	.000
CONCEDE	.257	.273
DISAGREE	.000	.016
EXCHANGE	.213	.281
REQUEST	.050	.084
SUPPORT	.064	.000
TOTAL	1.000	1.000

TABLE 2

LATENT LEVEL PROPORTIONS

LATENT	SPEAKER	
	OBSERVER	TEACHER
ABSTAIN	.000	.036
CLING	.000	.000
COLLABORATE	.069	.094
CONTROL	.277	.084
COUNTER	.005	.011
EVADE	.000	.000
INITIATE	.208	.131
OBLIGE	.282	.282
OFFER	.055	.152
RELINQUISH	.000	.026
REJECT	.000	.000
REMOVE	.000	.000
RESIST	.020	.011
SEEK	.015	.094
SHARE	.064	.011
SUBMIT	.005	.068
TOTAL	1.000	1.000

TABLE 3

POWER-INVOLVEMENT	SPEAKER	
	OBSERVER	TEACHER
++	.000	.016
+-	.005	.000
--	.000	.000
+=	.178	.068
-+	.015	.052
-=	.010	.047
=+	.059	.063
=-	.015	.005
==	.718	.749
TOTAL	1.000	1.000

The symbol in the first column represents agreement (=) or discrepancy ("+" for more or "-" for less) on the power dimension. The symbols in the second column represent agreement or discrepancy on the involvement dimension.

TABLE 4

MANIFEST LEVEL DOMINANCE TESTS

	TIJ	TJI	NI	NJ	Z-DOMINANCE
O-T ADVISE	2	1	47	32	0.40322
O-T AGREE	0	0	12	11	0.00000
O-T AGGRESS	8	9	25	23	-0.62223
O-T AVOID	.	.	.	.	.
O-T CONCEDE	2	3	52	52	-0.31342
O-T DISAGREE	0	0	0	3	.
O-T EXCHANGE	7	3	42	54	1.35038
O-T REQUEST	0	0	10	16	0.00000
O-T SUPPORT	0	0	13	0	.

Bonferroni (critical value) = 2.77

TABLE 5

LATENT LEVEL DOMINANCE TESTS

	TIJ	TJI	NI	NJ	Z-DOMINANCE
O-T ABSTAIN	0	0	7	0	.
O-T COLLABORATE	2	1	14	18	0.91890
O-T CONTROL	8	4	56	16	2.06682
O-T COUNTER	0	0	1	2	0.00000
O-T INITIATE	2	0	42	25	0.94730
O-T OBLIGE	4	3	57	54	0.29737
O-T OFFER	1	1	10	29	0.00000
O-T RELINQUISH	0	0	0	5	.
O-T RESIST	0	0	4	2	0.00000
O-T SUBMIT	0	0	1	13	0.00000
O-T SHARE	1		13	2	2.79588
O-T SEEK	0	0	3	18	0.00000

Bonferroni (critical value) = 2.95

TABLE 6

DOMINANCE TESTS WITH POWER-INVOLVEMENT SHIFTS

	TIJ	TJI	NI	NJ	Z-DOMINANCE
O++T++	0	0	0	3	.
O+-T+-	0	0	1	0	.
O-- T--	.	.	.	.	.
O+=T+=	1	0	36	13	0.69070
O-+T-+	0	0	3	10	0.00000
O-=T-=	1	0	2	9	3.34263 *
O=+T=+	2	1	12	12	1.20238
O=-T=-	0	0	3	1	0.00000
O==T==	86	85	145	143	0.18721

Bonferroni (critical value 9) = 2.77

TABLE 7

SIGNIFICANT MANIFEST LEVEL UNIDIRECTIONAL TESTS

ANTECEDENT	SUBSEQUENT	NI	NJ	TIJ	Z-UNIDIRECTIONAL
O-ADVISE	T-CONCEDE	47	52	19	5.8565
T-ADVISE	O-CONCEDE	32	52	13	4.7657
T-AGREE	O-SUPPORT	11	13	3	4.5021
O-AGGRESS	T-AGGRESS	25	23	8	5.7484
O-AGGRESS	T-REQUEST	25	16	5	4.1594
T-AGGRESS	O-AGGRESS	23	25	9	6.6278
O-EXCHANGE	T-CONCEDE	43	52	17	5.3873
T-EXCHANGE	O-CONCEDE	54	52	25	7.7111

Bonferroni (critical value 81) = 3.40

TABLE 8

SIGNIFICANT LATENT LEVEL UNIDIRECTIONAL TESTS

ANTECEDENT	SUBSEQUENT	NI	NJ	TIJ	Z-UNIDIRECTIONAL
O-COLLABORATE	T-COLLABORATE	14	13	3	3.8556
O-CONTROL	T-CONTROL	56	16	8	4.1716
O-INITIATE	T-OBLIGE	42	54	20	6.7396
T-INITIATE	O-OBLIGE	25	57	15	6.6673
O-OBLIGE	T-INITIATE	57	25	15	6.6673
T-OBLIGE	O-INITIATE	54	42	19	6.2660
T-OFFER	O-OBLIGE	29	57	14	5.3596
T-SEEK	O-SEEK	18	3	2	5.1571
T-SUBMIT	O-CONTROL	13	56	7	4.1483

Bonferroni (critical value 256)= 3.72

AGGRESS AS .Asserts self .Shows aggression .Justifies behaviour .Disapproves	**ADVISE** AD .Gives solutions .Gives guidance .Gives explanation .Gives summary	**SUPPORT** SP .Shows understanding .Reassures .Shows trust, confidence .Amuses
DISAGREE DS .Differs .Corrects .Criticizes .Contradicts	**EXCHANGE** EX .Gives information .Gives suggestions .Asks for information .Asks for suggestions	**AGREE** AG .Confirms .Reconciles .Conciliates .Willingly agrees
AVOID AV .Hesitates .Withdraws .Non-committal .Shows uncertainty	**REQUEST** RQ .Asks for decision .Asks for approval .Asks for evaluation .Asks for direction	**CONCEDE** CD .Passively accepts .Passively supports .Complies .Acquiesces

POWER

INVOLVEMENT

Fig. 1. Summary of manifest level classification scheme. (Penman, 1980, p. 64)

	Severs	Blocks	Approaches	Joins	
Asserts	**REJECT** RJ .Shows hostility .Discredits other .Denigrates task/other	**CONTROL** CN .Manoeuvres to gain control .Forceful challenges .Takes over, directs	**INITIATE** IN .Influences other .Leads without control .Stands for self while inviting other	**SHARE** SH .Joins forces .Openly confronts .Affirms self and other	Affirms
Maintains	**COUNTER** CT .Defies, refuses .Defends self .Stands for self at expense of other	**RESIST** RS .Counteracts .Is cynical, sceptical .Sets up obstacles	**OFFER** OF .Tentatively suggests .Informs other .Is task orientated	**COLLABORATE** CB .Reciprocates other .Consents to co-operate .Expands on other	Sustains
Ignores	**EVADE** EV .Vague and wordy obstructing .Does not respond directly .Manoeuvres out of situation	**ABSTAIN** AB .Is indecisive .Uses delaying tactics .Is unwilling to commit self	**SEEK** SK .Seeks confirmation .Requests information .Allows other to start	**OBLIGE** OB .Willingly accepts .Concurs with other .Endorses other	Downplays
Negates	**REMOVE** RM .Refuses to participate .Ignores other totally .Disassociates self	**RELINQUISH** RL .Concedes defeat .Backs away .Abandons previous position	**SUBMIT** SB .Defers to other .Gives responsibility to other .Takes path of least resistance	**CLING** CL .Seeks control by other .Accepts any directives .Mutually colludes	Nihilates
	Separates	Avoids	Draws	Merges	

POWER

INVOLVEMENT

Fig. 2 Summary of latent level classification scheme. (Penman, 1980, p. 66)

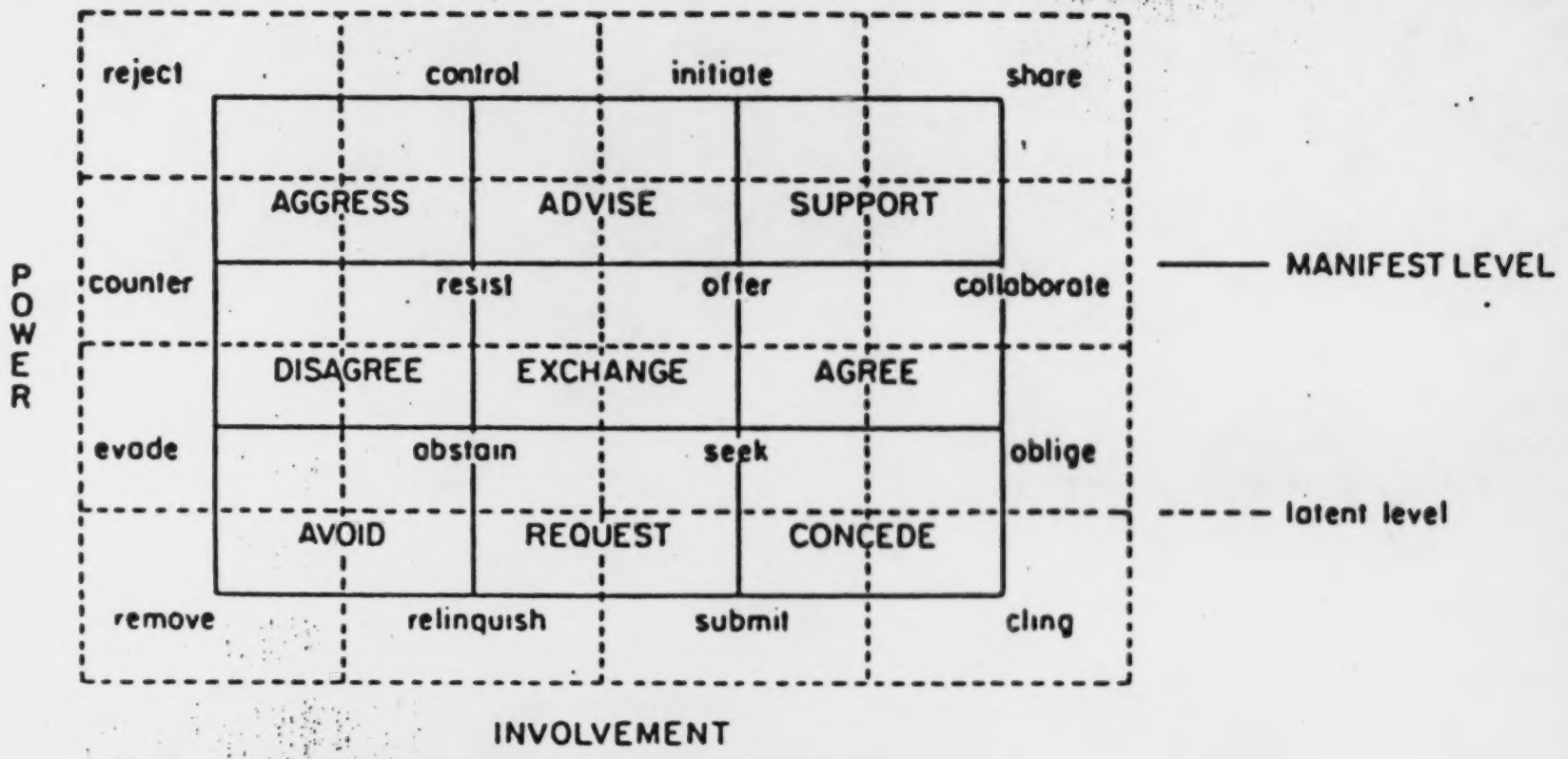

Fig. . Integrated manifest and latent level schemes.

• The types of interpersonal behaviour classified into the 16 different categories here are not based on conventional meanings. Instead, they are based on my own synthesis of various current theories in clinical psychology. Major contributions to this synthesis have come from the Gestalt/Encounter Group "school" and from the writings on family therapy derived from the Palo Alto group. The examples provided for each category in the Appendix explicitly demonstrate the interpersonal theory underlying the scheme and later discussions of message use and meaning will elaborate upon it.

(Penman, 1980, p. 67)

Figure 4

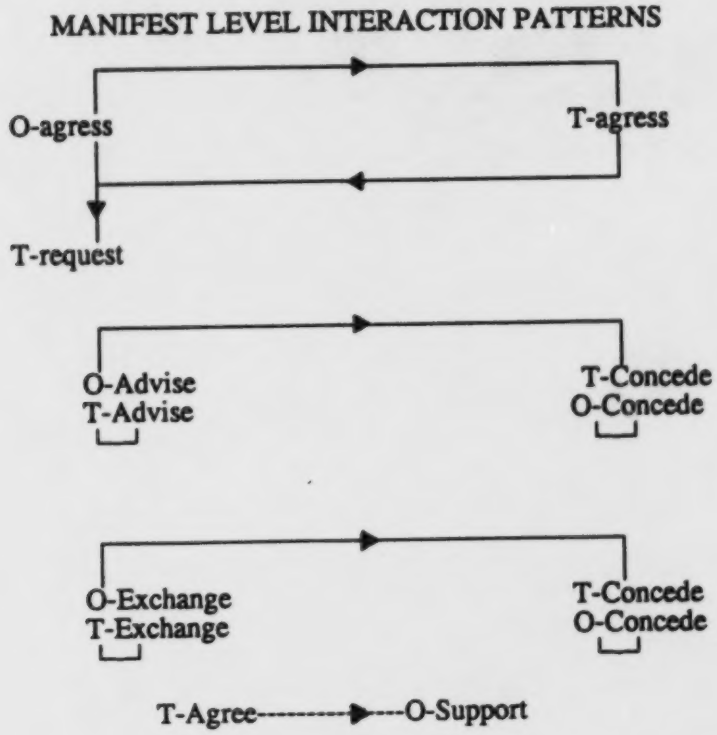

Figure 5